



Republic, Body, and Urban Space: possibilities for thinking about the education of the senses and sensibilities in Jerônimo Monteiro's Reforms in Vitória, Espírito Santo (1908-1912)¹

República, corpo e espaço urbano: possibilidades para pensar a educação dos sentidos e das sensibilidades nas reformas de Jerônimo Monteiro em Vitória/ES (1908-1912)

República, cuerpo y espacio urbano: posibilidades para pensar la educación de los sentidos y de las sensibilidades en las reformas de Jerônimo Monteiro en Vitória, Espírito Santo (1908-1912)

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Abstract

This review examines the research available in the Biblioteca Digital Brasileira de Teses e Dissertações (BDTD) and the collection of the Centro de Memória da Educação Física e do Esporte Capixaba (CEMEFEC) regarding the relationship between the body and the city from 1908 to 1912, in the context of Espírito Santo, particularly in Vitória. The studies predominantly focus on the process of schooling to engage with the education of the republican citizen. Although there have been some attempts to recognize the pedagogical nature of the city, this aspect has not been analyzed as the primary focus. It is possible to identify research opportunities in the education of senses and sensibilities, recognizing the urban space and the interventions made within it as tools for educating the body and the republican citizen.

Keywords: Body; Republic; Urban Space; Education.

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Resumo

Este artigo trata de uma revisão de produções disponíveis na Biblioteca Digital Brasileira de Teses e Dissertações (BDTD) e no acervo do Centro de Memória da Educação Física e do Esporte Capixaba (Cemefec) sobre a relação entre corpo e cidade, no período de 1908 a 1912, no contexto do Espírito Santo, sobretudo em Vitória. As produções concentram-se majoritariamente no processo de escolarização para dialogar com a educação do cidadão republicano. Embora haja algumas incursões no sentido de reconhecer o caráter pedagógico da cidade, esse aspecto não foi objeto de análise. É possível identificar possibilidades de investigação da educação dos sentidos e das sensibilidades, reconhecendo o espaço urbano e as intervenções nele realizadas como dispositivos de educação do corpo e do cidadão republicano.

Palavras-chave: Corpo; República; Espaço Urbano; Educação.

Resumen

Este artículo presenta una revisión de producciones disponibles en la Biblioteca Digital Brasileña de Tesis y Disertaciones (BDTD) y en el acervo del Centro de Memoria de la Educación Física y del Deporte Capixaba (Cemefec) sobre la relación entre cuerpo y ciudad, en el período de 1908 a 1912, en el contexto del Espírito Santo, particularmente en Vitória. Las producciones se centran mayoritariamente en el proceso de escolarización, en diálogo con la educación del ciudadano republicano. Aunque existen algunas incursiones para reconocer el carácter pedagógico de la ciudad, este aspecto no ha sido objeto de análisis. Es posible identificar oportunidades de investigación sobre la educación de los sentidos y las sensibilidades, reconociendo el espacio urbano y las intervenciones realizadas en él como dispositivos de educación del cuerpo y del ciudadano republicano.

Palabras clave: Cuerpo; República; Espacio Urbano; Educación.

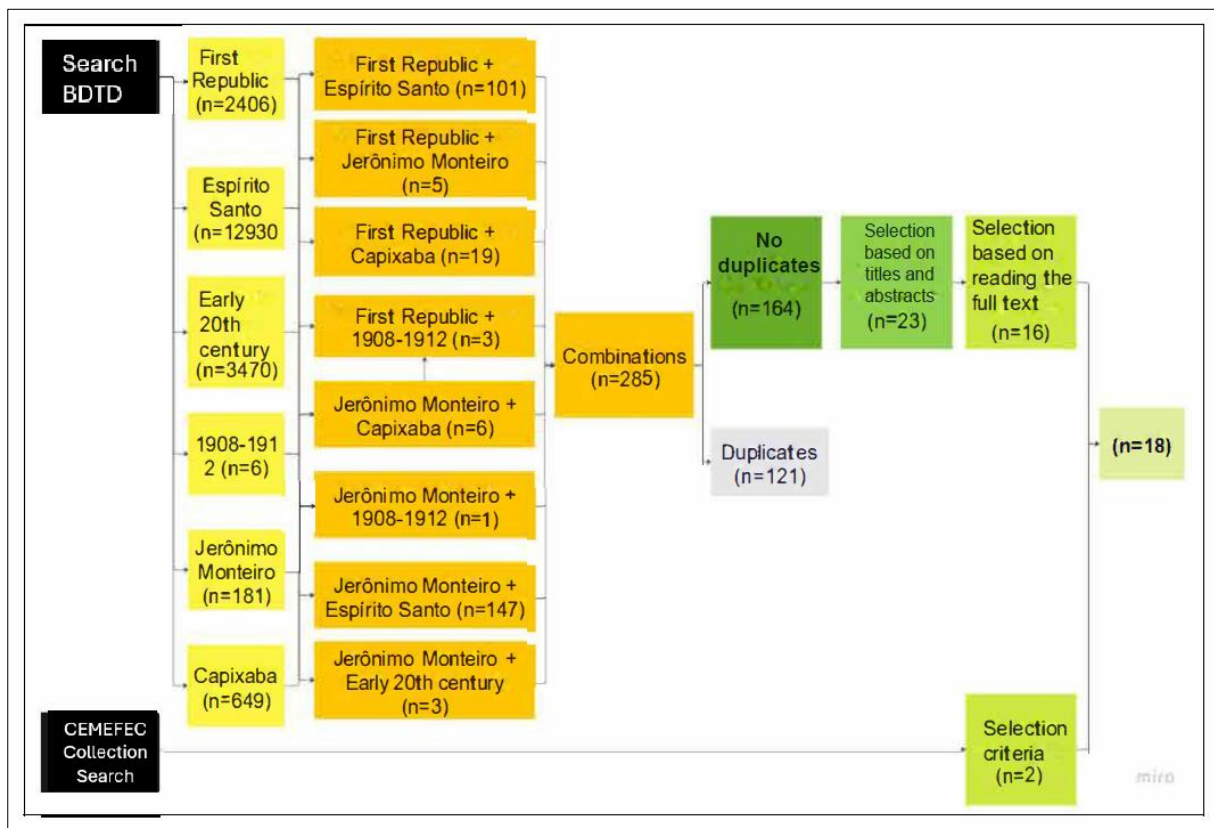
Introduction

This article highlights scholarly works that explore the relationship between the body and the city of Vitória, the capital of the Brazilian state of Espírito Santo, during the early 20th century, particularly under the administration of Jerônimo Monteiro (1908–1912). The analysis focuses on the state capital, Vitória, where the main urban redevelopment efforts took place, to understand the relationship between the body and the city during the state's transition to a republican system.

Eighteen scholarly works on the Espírito Santo context during the First Republic were mapped and reviewed to achieve this objective. The Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD) and the Center for the Memory of Physical Education and Sports in Espírito Santo (Cemefec) were searched. These works address the context of Espírito Santo in the early 20th century and raise issues related to education and/or the urban spaces of Vitória and/or Espírito Santo.

Search terms included “First Republic,” “Jerônimo Monteiro,” “early 20th century,” “Espírito Santo,” and “1908–1912,” both individually and in combination. After identification, these works were systematically reviewed to compose this text. The selection process is illustrated in the following flowchart:

Figure 1 – Flowchart of the search for studies.

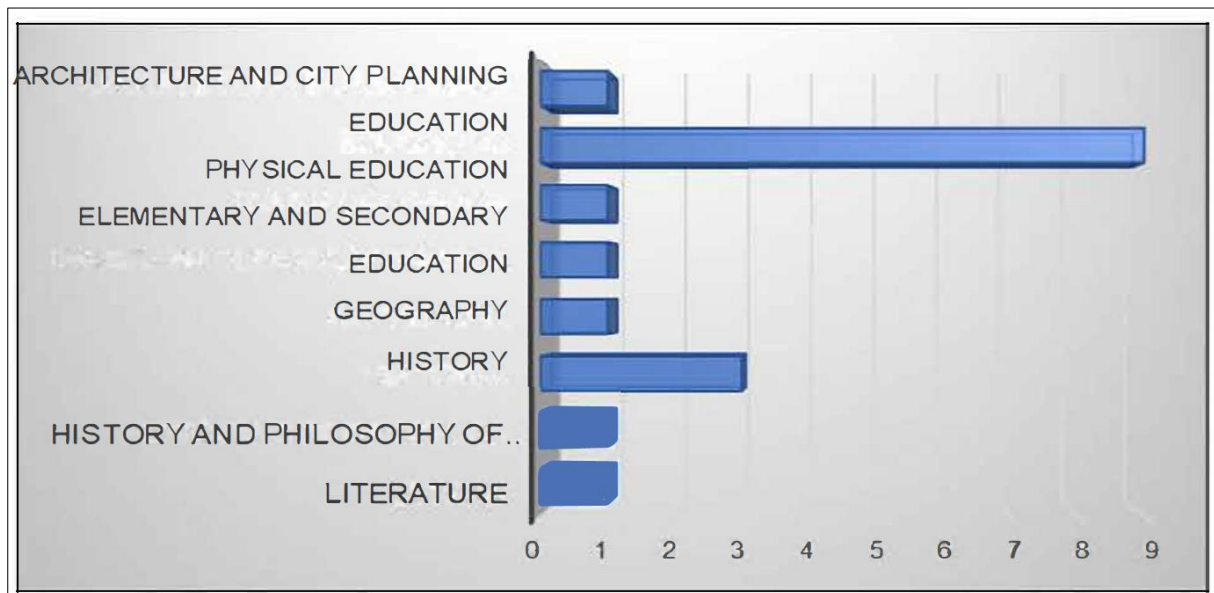


Source: Brazilian Institute of Information in Science and Technology [2024]; Center for Memory of Physical Education and Sport of Espírito Santo [2024].

Regarding publication type, we found that master's theses (11) were the most common, followed by doctoral dissertations (6). In the case of Sueth (2006), it refers to the master's thesis presented at PPGHIS/UFES in 2004 and published as a book. We chose to use the book because the author may have revised and refined the text from the dissertation.

As Graph 1 shows, the mapped works predominantly focus on Education, accounting for 50% of the research. This highlights the field of education's particular interest in schooling. The mapping also indicates initiatives that extend analyses beyond the school. This signals the relevance of research on urbanization and non-institutionalized education when considering urban space as both the field and object of research. This interest is evident in the limited inclusion of fields other than education in research on the First Republic in Espírito Santo. Focusing inquiries on this period is a fruitful strategy for broadening our understanding of the state's specific characteristics within the republicanization movement and its ability to implement the republican project.

Graph 1 – Graduate programs associated with the publications

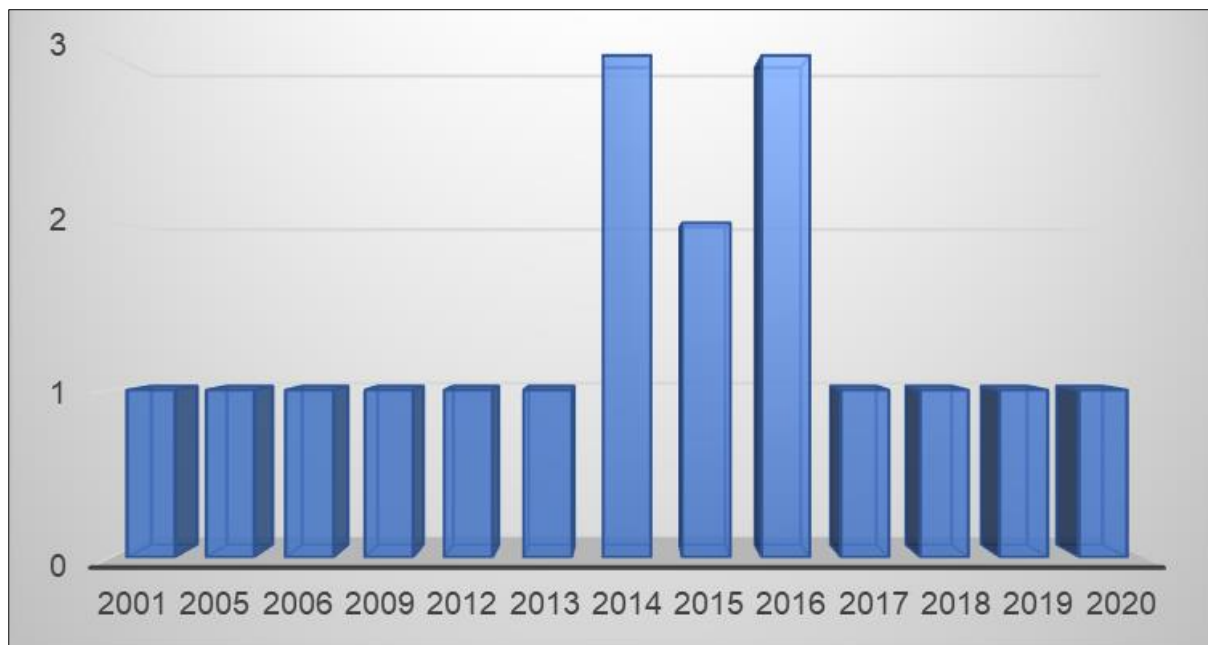


Source: Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD), Central Library of the Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (UFES-BC), Central Library of the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP-BC), and Center for Memory of Physical Education and Sport of Espírito Santo (CEMEFEC).

As shown in Graph 1, most of the identified studies (17) were conducted within the graduate programs (PPGs) at the Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (UFES). Only one study was carried out outside the state, at PUC/SP. This indicates local interest in producing knowledge about the Espírito Santo landscape during the early 20th century and the First Republic, as well as a national lack of interest in investigating this period in the state.

Expanding research on the specificities of Espírito Santo in the context of the Republic's emergence allows us to construct a narrative that transcends the homogenizing view that the Republic's establishment occurred uniformly and linearly across the entire national territory. This narrative considers the movement of productive consumption (Certeau, 1994) in the local context. Comparative analyses with other states are both possible and necessary.

Regarding publication years, we identified a moderately high level of interest between 2014 and 2016, with a higher frequency beginning in 2012, as shown in Graph 2. The highest concentration of studies published between 2014 and 2016 coincides with the development of the research project titled "Processes of Schooling in the State of Espírito Santo in the 20th Century: Exploring Pathways in/of History," which was coordinated by Prof. Dr. Regina Helena Silva Simões and was affiliated with the Graduate Program in Education at UFES.

Graph 2 - Year of publication of the mapped works

Source: Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD), Central Library of the Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (UFES-BC), Central Library of the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC/SP-BC), and the Espírito Santo Center for the History of Physical Education and Sports (CEMEFEC).

These studies reveal distinct epistemological trends. Most works, particularly in Education, draw on frameworks aligned with New Cultural History. Many works cite Carlo Ginzburg (1989) and his microhistory, indicating a shift towards narratives that focus on local nuances and perspectives rather than imposing the notion that the Republican movement unfolded similarly across Brazilian states on the Espírito Santo context. This disregards the local conditions necessary to bring this project to fruition.

Jacques Le Goff (1990) is frequently cited, particularly for his work on the concept of the monument². Michel de Certeau (1994), along with Marc Bloch and Carlo Ginzburg, contributes to works that focus inquiries on sources. These works consider the document as a monument (Le Goff, 1990) and take into account its context of production and the privileged narrative. This makes it possible to glimpse the silenced voices.

The mapped works provide important elements for reflecting on the education of the body³, with an emphasis on the educational landscape and the process of schooling in the early years of the First Republic. This allows us to ask questions that extend beyond the educational landscape to urban spaces.

² “A monument is anything that can evoke the past and perpetuate memory; for example, written records [...]. A monument is characterized by its connection to the power of perpetuation—whether voluntary or involuntary—of historical societies (it is a legacy to collective memory) and by its reference to testimonies, only a tiny fraction of which are written” (Le Goff, 1990, pp. 535–536).

³ When considering the education of the body, we follow the path of the education of the senses and sensibilities, since “historical studies of the senses and sensibilities challenge us to understand the responses—both individual and collective—that everyone gives to the impulses they receive from their surroundings (environment, nature, culture, society, reality...), so that new ways of thinking, acting, and feeling are mobilized in relation to the old ones, which may endure, be reinterpreted, or ‘forgotten.’ Therefore, [we start] from the understanding that it is not possible to study sensibilities without, in the same breath, studying the senses, those windows that mediate between the inner and outer worlds within each of us” (Oliveira, 2020, p. 4).

The urban landscape

Efforts to substantially transform Vitória's urban landscape between 1908 and 1912 are evident. Viewing urban space as an element in the development of the republican citizen, Locatelli (2012) analyzes the architectural designs of school complexes from 1908 to 1930. She demonstrates how these designs embodied a republican pedagogical project in dialogue with curricular reforms. Locatelli links this construction to the strengthening of republican ideals at the national level and acknowledges the influence of other states on the context of Espírito Santo. For example, Gomes Cardim's 1908 curriculum reform exemplifies the political influence of Jerônimo Monteiro's travels through São Paulo, which Locatelli (2012) highlights as "a hub radiating republican education in the early 20th century" (p. 20).

Locatelli (2012) emphasizes that the influence of ideas and structures in Espírito Santo was not purely straightforward, but rather took local particularities and specificities into account. She emphasizes the material conditions in the state that made architectural reforms and the implementation of the curriculum model possible.

However, we must not overlook the contradictions in the narratives about the construction of the Gomes Cardim School Complex in the state capital. It is mentioned in Jerônimo Monteiro's government report, which highlights the building's inadequacy in terms of hygienic and pedagogical conditions for a school complex. Although conceived as a monument symbolizing the Republic, the building proved inadequate.

Thus, Locatelli (2012) states that in Espírito Santo, the focus was on providing basic materials for primary education rather than creating an appropriate environment for forming the republican citizen.

Regarding Jerônimo Monteiro's administration specifically, the author describes it as a period of intense change in the city and its urban landscape. This reinforces the notion that the republican movement in Espírito Santo had its own dynamics shaped by local conditions and social actors, while also considering the national context at certain moments.

During the modernization and republicanization of Espírito Santo under Jerônimo Monteiro, we see the model of state oligarchic practices with strong traces of coronelismo, as Vasconcellos (2018) shows. Locatelli (2012) further recognizes the power dynamics between the capital of Espírito Santo and the municipality of Cachoeiro de Itapemirim. Considered a significant economic hub, Cachoeiro de Itapemirim is primarily known for its coffee production and strong political influence within the state oligarchies aligned with the coronelista system.

Locatelli (2012) emphasizes the creation of the Bernardino Monteiro School Group in Cachoeiro de Itapemirim as an important representation of the exemplary São Paulo school groups. She notes that between 1908 and 1930, the creation of school groups in Espírito Santo municipalities was associated with a policy that prioritized this implementation in specific localities rather than with the government's guidelines for forming the republican citizen. This was part of the public education reform undertaken during that period (Locatelli, 2012, p. 200).

Therefore, it is essential to recognize that the urban transformations of that period were linked to a government project that used monumentalism (Le Goff, 1990) to attract investment and simultaneously consolidate symbolic and economic capital. This strategy aimed to attract substantial investments to the developing capital in collaboration with local oligarchies, thereby realizing the project of a republican state. As part of this process, the government offered the economic elite specific areas within the city that were planned to prioritize their interests.

Considering the characteristics of Vitória's urbanization, Bellini (2014, p. 15) analyzed "the spaces that stood out most as promoters of the population's daily life," using publications in local periodicals, reports, and government messages as sources. The researcher starts from the premise that encouraging recreational activities in certain public spaces would make them more conducive to contemplation.

While no analytical effort was made regarding the characteristics and frameworks of historiographical research, Bellini's analysis highlights the scientific principles that influenced urban interventions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It emphasizes the hygiene movement and the civilizing process (Elias, 2011) that the movement sought to promote. Bellini (2014) adds that the modernization associated with urban sanitation and the medicalization of the patriarchal family reshaped social interaction in Brazil. This modernization highlighted the differentiation of spaces occupied by social groups despite the ideal of equality in the liberal republican order.

Based on the analyses conducted, the researcher suggests that some projects attributed to the Jerônimo Monteiro government were part of previous rulers' intentions and that Monteiro met the demands of the local political elite by significantly increasing the state's debt in exchange for political support.

Alves (2015) studied the real estate development of Vitória from the late 19th to the mid-20th century to understand the production of urban space and the development of the construction industry.

The researcher begins with the premise that the construction of Vitória's urban space was related to generating income in both the pre- and post-abolition periods. During the era of slavery, income was generated by appropriating enslaved labor for construction and renting it to third parties. After abolition, construction was driven by the labor of European immigrants, especially Italians. Alves (2015) notes that following the abolition of slavery, wealth shifted toward private land ownership. Italian immigrants played a crucial role in construction, introducing new techniques and materials and helping to modernize Brazilian city architecture.

In light of changes in construction methods and the significance of buildings in Vitória, the author highlights a significant symbolic shift regarding land and real estate. These assets were monetized and could be owned by the local elite even before the abolition of slavery. According to Alves (2015), in 1910, the Urban Zone of Vitória had 1,238 properties, 65% of which were rented. Between 1893 and 1910, the total number of properties increased by 33%, and the number of rented properties grew by 29%. Based on the mapping and evidence found in the analyzed documents, Alves (2015, p. 138) reiterates that "with the transition from slave labor to free labor, a metamorphosis of wealth also occurred. It turns out that wealth, previously embodied in the ownership of enslaved people, shifted to private land ownership."

In this context, there are signs of significant changes that began in the early 20th century, indicating that the rise of Jerônimo Monteiro to the presidency of Espírito Santo was a driving force behind material change. Alves (2015) explains that Vitória's urbanization was slow due to a lack of significant industrial activity and an economy based on the coffee trade. Significant urban transformations began in 1908 during Monteiro's administration, when urban planning and public health legislation began enhancing the city through interventions such as the Campinho landfill, demolitions, street widening, and stricter building codes.

Saletto (2018) even records Afonso Cláudio's intention to clean up the city and implement other necessary measures to propel Espírito Santo toward the desired republic.

In Saletto's (2018) text, we find a record of Afonso Cláudio's intention to clean up the city and implement other necessary measures to propel Espírito Santo toward the desired republic.

Saletto (2018) notes that Afonso Cláudio attempted to address financial reform, immigration, educational reform, the Campinho landfill, and water and sewage services in Vitória. However, the latter two issues remained unresolved under subsequent administrations.

This movement was not isolated from the national context of the pursuit of a certain ideal of civility. A similar movement can be observed in the implementation of the Pereira Passos Reform in Rio de Janeiro⁴. Even when considering the movements taking place on the national stage, one must acknowledge that the changes implemented in Espírito Santo were not mere replicas of external models, but rather were adapted to the local context. One must consider the movement of consumption (Certeau, 1994) in the local context.

This type of evidence is important in deconstructing the linear narrative that attributes the changes and their intentions in the city of Espírito Santo to the government of Jerônimo Monteiro. However, given the records produced during Jerônimo Monteiro's administration, it is possible to identify evidence of an attempt to create a tradition-invention movement (Hobsbawm, 2015) that credits his government and, in particular, his personal figure, with the modernization of Espírito Santo. This point is essential because part of the historiography of the Espírito Santo tacitly reinforces this idea. Campos (2016, p. 56) corroborates this perception by emphasizing:

It seems to us that his efforts to articulate and document written and visual accounts of his “ways” were deliberately orchestrated throughout his tenure. Within the context of local political drama, he would assume the role of the tireless, incorruptible politician who kept a watchful eye on public spending.

Returning to Bellini's (2014) analysis, we note that the researcher pays particular attention to efforts to organize and guide residents' leisure activities in the capital of Espírito Santo, highlighting the creation of Moscoso Park as a significant milestone.

built on the site of what had been the city's most unsanitary area in previous years, Campinho. The end of the old swamp and its metamorphosis into an elegant city neighborhood, equipped with public walkways, infrastructure, and a regular layout—a stark contrast to the filthy alleys and backstreets of yesteryear—reflected the triumph of modernity and beauty over the backwardness and ugliness inherited from a colonial past. The city of Vitória was entering a new phase with a visual character distinct from that of previous periods (Bellini, 2014, p.84).

Bellini (2014) emphasizes the importance of the capital's coastline and its surroundings as popular sites for enjoying the landscape and encouraging public engagement, particularly from the 1880s onwards. She mentions João Clímaco Square, Santos Dumont Square, and Morro do Convento as vantage points for contemplation, as cited in periodicals of the time.

⁴ According to Silva (2019, p. 2), “[...] the Pereira Passos Urban Reform was an attempt to Europeanize and gentrify culture through architecture, ideals, and customs. Europe—especially the cities of Paris and London—was seen as a model of civilization, progress, and modernity to be emulated. Progress was a sign of material development; civilization, of behavior guided by a European bourgeois ideal; modernity, in beautification and sanitation, was related to moving away from a colonial past and adapting to a new, certainly European, present. Thus, the changes in the capital had an urban, sanitary, and behavioral character, and the city's transformation took place on a symbolic-spatial level.”

Bellini observes an increase in mentions of Vitória's landscape in the examined periodicals starting in the 1890s, with a significant peak from 1910 to 1916.

Despite the limitations of the sources, Bellini argues that accounts of the landscape based on everyday experience demonstrate residents' ability to focus on the city's common elements, revealing a wealth of sensory details. These records express love for the homeland, pride in improvements, shame regarding shortcomings, and a strong sense of belonging to the place.

In this context, Campos (2016) focuses on the visibility of the body in Vitória's urban scene, examining the integration of gymnastics into school curricula and physical practices in sports clubs and associations during Jerônimo Monteiro's administration (1908–1912). The research is grounded in New Cultural History and draws on the theoretical and methodological work of Carlo Ginzburg and Marc Bloch.

The researcher identifies evidence of hygiene as a mechanism for constructing and organizing the city of Vitória. The researcher notes that since the 1860s, government reports in Espírito Santo have considered hygiene crucial to urban development. However, investments to address urban problems only materialized with the Republic and primarily benefited Vitória and Cachoeiro de Itapemirim. The period of Jerônimo Monteiro's administration reinforces the presence of hygienic and sanitary discourse, particularly evident in records produced at the beginning of his term, despite the epidemiological conditions that marked the late 19th and early 20th centuries⁵. Thus, the researcher states:

In official documents, public health is presented as a goal to be pursued in the fight against the diseases and ailments that plagued Espírito Santo during the imperial period. Addressing the lack of sanitary conditions in the interest of progress has been part of the president's agenda since he took office as head of state (Campos, 2016, p. 76).

Campos's (2016) study indicates that the process of educating and shaping the republican citizen during Jerônimo Monteiro's administration relied on educational institutions as key mechanisms, though not exclusively. The study suggests that this educational process extends beyond formal schooling. Although Campos's research considers the education of the body and the republican individual beyond schooling, her analyses remain strongly tied to the field of education. Thus, there is a need for research that not only takes the urban setting as its object of analysis but also highlights the health measures that contributed to the education of the republican individual. This research should emphasize the tactical movements of these individuals in their search for underutilized or uncataloged sources, such as the archives of the Espírito Santo Public Health Inspectorate⁶.

Schooling

The reviewed research reveals that the consolidation of school groups is a key element in understanding the landscape of the early years of the First Republic, particularly during Jerônimo Monteiro's administration. In this context, Lima (2013) identifies "education of the senses" as physical education practices within the school group. Lima highlights Gomes Cardim's role in

⁵ For more details on this scenario, we recommend reading Cunha (2016).

⁶ The Espírito Santo Public Health Inspectorate Collection, as reported by Vargas (2017), was discovered during a document search conducted in connection with the relocation of the APEES headquarters, concurrent with a search by researchers from the Department of Psychology at UFES for documents that could assist in constructing a narrative regarding the history of madness in the state of Espírito Santo. To date, four studies have been produced using documents from this collection.

reformulating the curriculum, promoting school groups, and creating conditions that made the city a showcase of republican education through political events and civic celebrations. In Lima's analysis (2013, p. 113),

Civic celebrations and other activities were symbolic practices organized by the government. They were intended to serve as a backdrop for school initiatives while fostering a connection between urban spaces and students. These social practices also helped structure cities, facilitating the modernization envisioned by the local republican regime.

The researcher highlights the introduction of gymnastics as a curricular component with the same number of weekly class hours as subjects such as Portuguese and arithmetic⁷. She also emphasizes sensory education as a crucial aspect of shaping the republican citizen's education, intertwining it with concepts of public health, civility, and patriotic sentiment.

Regarding the Gomes Cardim School Group, located in the capital, Assis (2014) identifies it as a significant symbol of the reformist movement in Espírito Santo's education system during the administration of Jerônimo Monteiro. However, the researcher emphasizes the poor condition of the facilities.

This so-called precariousness is evident in the contrast between the intended model of the school group, the discourse used to justify its creation, and the material conditions implemented. This can be considered precariousness, but it also reflects the state's concrete conditions in materializing the republican educational project, especially considering the indebtedness context highlighted by Saletto (2018).

Thus, we should question whether what is called precariousness might actually be a hallmark of the local conditions for implementing the republican educational project in the period's historical and economic context. The school group's establishment occurred within the official discourse and the model that inspired it. It constituted itself as a form of productive consumption (Certeau, 1994).

Another important point is the growth of isolated schools in the interior of Espírito Santo. This growth is evidenced by the creation of 32 schools between 1908 and 1909, despite the school-group model. Assis (2014) points out the inconsistencies between the pedagogical principles of the various existing schooling models in the state and highlights that the growth of these schools was linked to the needs of local communities.

Monticelli (2014) highlights what she calls educational "translation practices"⁸ aimed at children and youth excluded from school during the First Republic in Espírito Santo. The researcher identifies a medical-pedagogical approach in the curricular guidelines and their implementation, emphasizing the necessity of interventions in urban areas and in civic and moral education due to health conditions in Brazil, especially in Espírito Santo, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In this regard, she emphasizes that, in her interpretation,

⁷ It is important to emphasize that Lima (2013) does not make the comparison in question as a means of establishing a hierarchy among curricular components and/or knowledge-skills. The comparison is made to help identify the importance attributed to the "Gymnastics" component within the school curriculum during the early decades of the Republic, as a tool for educating the republican citizen.

⁸ What the researcher refers to as educational translation practices pertains to an effort to adapt the project of educating the republican citizen, carried out in the context of Espírito Santo's capital, with an emphasis on the intuitive teaching method inspired by European models.

During this same period, anyone who was not considered healthy was labeled [sic] as unfit or abnormal, since they posed a risk to others, who lived under the influence of hygienist discourse. Health was equated with symmetry, standardization, and discipline (Monticelli, 2014, p. 59).

Therefore, we can conclude that hygiene principles and guidelines played a significant role in urbanization and the implementation of educational practices that extend beyond formal schooling and take root in urban environments.

Monticelli (2014) identifies 1909 as a turning point in the exclusion of children and youth from schooling, emphasizing the adoption of the intuitive analytical method⁹. She asserts that in early 20th-century Espírito Santo, order was prioritized over educability. Using the intuitive method, the Normal School helped exclude certain social groups from popular education and internalized civilizing principles that did not address the reality of many children of formerly enslaved people and settlers who had migrated to urban areas.

From Monticelli's analyses, we infer that although education for the republican individual expanded with the implementation of school groups and the Normal School, this strategic mechanism was not equally accessible to children and youth in Espírito Santo. This confined the education of the senses and sensibilities to spaces beyond school institutions. However, we must acknowledge that Espírito Santo faced challenges in providing access to education, even in the capital, with these disparities being more pronounced in rural areas.

Alencar (2016) reinforces this perspective by analyzing the relationship between isolated schools and school groups in the early 20th century. She examined primary education in the northern region of Espírito Santo during the First Republic. He found that, despite being viewed as more precarious than school clusters, isolated schools played a fundamental role in educating the population. These schools were an accessible option for rural communities and areas with limited access.

A contrast between rhetoric and reality marked the expansion of education in northern Espírito Santo. Although local politicians advocated education as essential to consolidating republican ideals, financial and logistical constraints hindered the effective implementation of these ideals. Consequently, most new institutions were isolated schools that met the immediate local demand for education.

Novaes (2020) analyzed isolated schools in the context of the implementation of the first school group in 1908 through Gomes Cardim's interventions at the beginning of Jerônimo Monteiro's administration and the improvement of isolated schools in 1906. The researcher notes that the initial initiative aimed to eliminate isolated schools, deemed obsolete.

The distinction between "school group" and "isolated school" symbolized a dispute between two models of primary school. School groups were seen as republican and modernizing, while isolated schools were associated with the precariousness and backwardness of the imperial tradition.

⁹ According to Monticelli (2014, p. 73), "[...] The intuitive teaching method proposes an evolutionary process whose initial stage involves the education of the senses. This proposed method is linked to the aspirations of a positivist society, which would lend credibility to the importance of knowledge, education, and methodological recognition through the evolutionary approach [...]". For further information, we recommend reading the book *First Lessons in Things*, authored by Callkins and translated by Rui Barbosa.

The researcher raised a key point: the construction of the Gomes Cardim School Group (1908) as a republican monument (Le Goff, 1990) was a strategic device (Certeau, 1994) that marked a new era in the schooling system of Espírito Santo, while signaling the projects of Jerônimo Monteiro's government as a means of sustaining it.

The series of attempts by Jerônimo Monteiro's administration to monumentalize the Republic and the government itself synchronously and inseparably is worth reiterating. Despite disputes over constructing a specific narrative of the republicanization of Espírito Santo, studies of the period also consider teaching and the conditions under which it is practiced.

Teaching in the early 20th century

In examining teachers' professionalism, Bonatto (2005) establishes a connection between the educational reforms promoted by Gomes Cardim (1908) and Atilio Vivacqua (1928). She highlights how the former's reforms created gaps that the latter addressed. One of the central issues of the second reform was teacher training.

Bonatto attributes the lack of systematic, organized teacher training programs as a key reason the reform under Gomes Cardim's leadership did not achieve the expected success. During the 1908 reform, Bonatto (2005, pp. 43–46) emphasizes that.

Reforms before that of 1908 did not fail to address—or even highlight—teacher training as a fundamental aspect of the changes to be made. Although they had their merits, they failed to treat teacher training as a primary concern, remaining limited to issues of materials and buildings [...]. Notably, Cardim's reform prioritized the Normal School, the attached Model School, and civic celebrations—which Cardim greatly appreciated and which featured prominently in his work and public appearances.”

The researcher's emphasis on civic celebrations is evident in the records produced during Jerônimo Monteiro's administration. The APEES photographic collection is full of images of Jerônimo Monteiro and the symbolism that permeated his urban planning discourse.

Beyond monumentalization, this type of initiative signals a concern for transforming educational institutions and the education they provide. Thus, the entire urban landscape of Vitória takes on a pedagogical character in the context of the emerging republic.

Regarding teacher training specifically, the Normal School primarily focuses on the intellectual and moral education of future teachers.

Bonatto (2005) highlights the 1909 Pedagogical Congress, organized by Gomes Cardim, as an event that discussed teaching practices and educational projects in a pragmatic, operational manner. Teachers' remarks ensured that Cardim's proposal was addressed with minimal room for evasion. The aim was to highlight and encourage an intuitive analytical approach to the educational process.

Despite attempts to stifle dissent, Bonatto (2005) highlights remarks by Camilla Rios Motta, a rural teacher who timidly addressed the role of women within the existing social model and the differences between urban and rural contexts. Despite the teacher's tone of protest:

Given the lectures, the side events, and the pomp and circumstance surrounding the occasion—with full coverage by **Diário da Manhã** and the presence of the State President— [the Pedagogical Congress] seemed much more like one of the theatrical events

characteristic of Cardim's style—who valued the organization of lavish displays more than anything else—than a gathering intended to foster a broad debate among teachers regarding the practices, aspirations, and training of these professionals in the state (Bonatto, 2005, pp. 56–57).

Bonatto's (2005) characterization of theatricality corroborates Novaes's (2001) analysis, reinforcing the discursive strategies used to promote the notion that the Jerônimo Monteiro administration was the solution to past failures. The final government report, based on the researchers' analyses, glorifies the government's role in driving progress toward republicanization in Espírito Santo.

Regarding teacher training specifically, Pezzin (2015) addresses the issue by focusing on mathematics education in Espírito Santo, covering aspects of education from the imperial period through the 1960s.

Regarding teacher training specifically, there was a significant increase in curricular components and knowledge relevant to the training of women, particularly under the educational reform proposed and implemented under the leadership of Gomes Cardim in 1908. Thus, Pezzin (2015) highlights that "except for Military Exercises, which were present in the male section, there was no other distinction in curricular components between the sexes" (p. 39). However, Pezzin (2015) notes the shift away from integrated curricula brought about by Decree No. 43 of March 1910¹⁰. Gender issues also appear in subsequent research, including that by Alvarenga (2018) and Bezerra (2019).

Costa (2016) analyzed photographic records of the school environment from documentation prepared by the State of Espírito Santo during Jerônimo Monteiro's administration (1908–1912). These images are included in a document titled Report on State Affairs for the Four-Year Term from 1908 to 1912 by His Excellency Dr. Jerônimo Monteiro, Governor of the State during the same period, which was sent to the Legislative Assembly.

Costa (2016, p. 157) points out significant discrepancies between the document's content and its images.

The republican school depicted in the images does not necessarily seem to be moving in the same direction as the text suggests, or at least, the pace of the process is not the same for all segments of society. The photographs illustrate the government's message and aim to corroborate the president's statements. But not everything that is said in words is demonstrated through images. The schooling of immigrants, for example, is not present in the photographs. Although in the text he appears genuinely concerned with the issue of the nationalization of education and even allocated equipment to schools in regions that European immigrants were massively colonizing, these immigrants do not appear in the images.

Costa (2016) points out the underrepresentation of Black individuals and the absence of future Black female teachers in images of the Normal School. She also notes the complete absence of Indigenous peoples, which indicates the state's lack of interest in

¹⁰ The researcher highlights this disparity, particularly in matters related to mathematics. Pezzin (2015) notes that, under the 1910 curriculum, girls' classes studied only arithmetic and algebra in the first year, while boys' classes still studied arithmetic and algebra in the first year and geometry in the second year, despite a general reduction in the study of mathematics.

educating these groups. However, it is important to recognize that there was a concerted effort to meet the demand for schools and teachers for the children of the capital, despite various difficulties. These efforts help us to understand the alleged marginalization of the aforementioned groups.

Jerônimo Monteiro's approach to creating documents and monuments is analyzed by examining his attention to both content and form. Costa (2016) notes that Monteiro employed exalted language in official documents to glorify his achievements and justify his political actions. Monteiro was the first Espírito Santo governor to present illustrated documentation to the Legislature and the public, leaving behind a rich photographic record.

Costa (2016) also suggests avenues for researching the relationship between hygienism and social exclusion practices in Espírito Santo. The absence of women in the records of the city of Vitória contrasts with their prominent role in education, especially in the feminization of the teaching profession.

However, this observation must be considered in the context of the conditions under which teaching was practiced and the moral values inherent in the educational practices of a patriarchal and misogynistic society of that era.

Regarding the presented issues, Borel (2017) states that the establishment of the Ginásio do Espírito Santo (GES) was a milestone in the state of Espírito Santo's education system. It provided the local elite with quality education, eliminating the need to migrate to other cities. Similar to Colégio Pedro II, the GES held a prominent position. Although it was publicly funded, the GES charged mandatory examination and enrollment fees, creating a barrier that favored students from specific social classes who had access to quality primary education or resources for preparatory studies.

The main purpose of Borel's (2017) study was to explore the educational trajectories and professional careers of teachers at the GES, which was the leading secondary school in Espírito Santo. Secondary objectives included examining the backgrounds of teachers who served at the GES between 1906 and 1951; analyzing the faculty admission processes within the context of educational reforms during that period; and reviewing educational and teaching texts produced by these teachers.

Borel's analysis was not limited to the educational structure but also considered members of the educational community. This provided a deeper understanding of the educational experience in that context.

The researcher highlights the Church's influence in maintaining and strengthening GES's activities. The church played a crucial role in the high school's administration, especially when the Espírito Santo government handed over its administration to religious congregations due to a lack of funds and the Rivadávia Law. The cooperation between the Church and the state influenced public secondary education; the Church saw an advantage in administering the institution to disseminate its precepts. Despite financial difficulties, the school never ceased its activities.

Borel (2017) provides evidence of the Church's influence on the educational system and allows us to examine how the Monteiros' family relationships are intertwined with the political landscape of Espírito Santo. It is important to consider factors beyond educational institutions and the schooling process. In the 1930s, the GES's strict disciplinary regime monitored students both inside and outside of school; inspectors were essential for maintaining order. Despite such surveillance, inappropriate practices occurred. For example, a student used a human skull as a basketball, resulting in his enrollment being canceled by Principal José Meira Quadros.

Therefore, it is important to understand that the educational and training process intended by politicians and administrators was embedded in a scenario extending beyond the physical limits of educational institutions and the strategic devices (Certeau, 1994) used

in this formative process. Thus, Borel's analyses and evidence enable us to question urban spaces in relation to the education of the republican body.

Alvarenga (2018) presents important analyses in her investigation of women's inclusion in public primary education and its consequences in Espírito Santo between 1845 and 1920. The researcher highlights the expansion of primary schooling, the greater presence of girls in schools in Espírito Santo, and the quantitative increase in female teachers as elements inseparable from the analysis of her research subject. She also emphasizes the Normal School's role as a training hub for female teachers in Espírito Santo (Alvarenga, 2018, p. 223).

Regarding the Gomes Cardim Reform specifically, Alvarenga (2018) points to the creation of strategies and mechanisms aimed at monitoring teaching work and educating women in line with the patriarchal model of society.

According to Alvarenga (2018), the 1908 Gomes Cardim Reform, under the administration of Jerônimo Monteiro, aimed to modernize education and centralize public instruction in the state of Espírito Santo. The reform strengthened control over the teaching profession by establishing the Department of Education and expanding compulsory education. This increased the demand for female teachers and promoted new conceptions of women's roles in society amid urbanization and the beginning of industrial production.

Bezerra (2019) investigates the dismissal of Joanna Passos, a teacher who worked in Regência in the city of Cachoeiro de Santa Leopoldina. The study highlights Joanna's resistance movement, noting that she was the only teacher dismissed during Jerônimo Monteiro's administration for publicly expressing her dissent in the media, a move that garnered considerable attention from the press and the population of Espírito Santo (Bezerra, 2019, p. 18).

Passos's case sheds light on the controversial dynamics within the teaching profession in Espírito Santo during the First Republic, particularly under the reform movement led by Gomes Cardim at the behest of Jerônimo Monteiro. Bezerra (2019) reveals evidence showing how teaching and professional conduct were shaped by moralistic principles and/or political affiliations in this dynamic.

Despite the government's interest in education to promote progress and reduce inequalities, Bezerra (2019) notes that the influence of the "coronéis" persisted. She emphasizes that during the feminization of the teaching profession in the republican school system, female teachers were controlled by public administrators based on moralistic demands and elitist models.

When describing the context and conditions of teaching practice in early 20th-century Espírito Santo under the administration of Jerônimo Monteiro, Bezerra (2019) emphasizes that the authoritarianism there was linked to coronelismo, moralism, and patriarchy. This authoritarianism consolidated government discourses that defined the parameters of education and the training of female teachers based on behavioral models. Bezerra notes that moral and political violence was used to control the teaching profession, blurring the line between the public and private spheres and devaluing aspects essential to affirming teaching, especially for female teachers.

These analyses also provide elements that counter the official narrative of government documents from that era. The aim is not to nullify these discourses but rather to contribute to a credible historiographical narrative, insofar as we understand that documents monumentalize competing narratives that vie for truth. The "virtue" of teacher Joanna Passos was questioned as a strategy to delegitimize her position as an educator. Thus,

As Alvarenga (2018) explains, this is neither a linear educational process nor one devoid of differences and inconsistencies. Thus, reflecting on the pedagogical role of mechanisms situated beyond the confines of formal schooling seems fruitful for understanding how the intended republican citizen is formed during the early years of the First Republic. This formation should be considered within the historical context of

Jerônimo Monteiro's administration, which reinforced the discourse of supposed and announced breaks with the preceding period.

One iconic case that helps us understand the questions and reflections highlighted by Alvarenga (2018) is the case analyzed by Bezerra (2019) concerning the *modus operandi* of surveillance and control over the teaching profession, and ultimately over women, in the early 20th-century context.

To carry out her dismissal, doubts were raised about her moral character in connection with her "virtue." Joanna engages with the allegations made against her, offering to undergo a virginity test, which emerges as one of the teacher's key strategies (Bezerra, 2019, p. 87).

An examination confirmed her virginity. However, Bezerra (2019) raises concerns about the principles underlying Joanna's dismissal. Passos's defense in the press, based on proof of her virginity, reveals the close relationship between teaching and gender-based moral prescriptions. The same principles were used both to accuse her of incompetence and to defend her.

The mapped studies reveal that the education of the republican citizen was not limited to a specific set of strategic devices, such as isolated schools and school groups, particularly in the capital's urban context. To understand the republicanization movement in Espírito Santo, interventions in the urban landscape must also be considered as objects of analysis.

(Some) Considerations

Despite the significant contributions of the identified studies, it is clear that efforts focus primarily on the schooling process when considering the education of the republican citizen in early 20th-century Espírito Santo. Some of the mapped initiatives have touched upon the city. Still, there has been no concentrated effort to treat the urban space as a privileged locus for considering sensory education and the shaping of sensibilities within the republican project.

Physical education and the historiography of physical education in Espírito Santo have yet to engage in this type of analytical inquiry, as evidenced by the present survey. Most analytical efforts remain concentrated within Education, with strong ties to schooling.

This perception highlights the need to broaden the perspective and analyses of the republican project to include the pedagogical character of the city envisioned by the reforms as part of a complex scenario in which life unfolds.

Based on the tactical movements of individuals in constant relation to strategic devices (Certeau, 1994), it is especially necessary to take into account the local conditions of the republican project's materialization so as not to endorse a discourse that imports models from neighboring states. These movements leave traces that must be meticulously examined to construct a credible narrative (Ginzburg, 1989) of the period under analysis.

According to representatives of the state government and the Republic, an important observation is the establishment of the Gomes Cardim School Group and its educational practices in the capital of Espírito Santo under less-than-ideal conditions, especially from a hygienic standpoint. This highlights the capital's efforts to implement hygiene principles through interventions.

Therefore, it is important to broaden the perspective on pedagogical practices in the educational process to include those employed in the reorganization of the urban landscape when considering the education of individuals who use social spaces reconfigured by urban reforms through the education of the senses and sensibilities. This allows us to produce a narrative that considers local conditions and helps propose possibilities for dialogue with the national context.

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